





as, for example, the communication between Mobile and New Orleans, is all carried on by roundabout and tedious railway lines, and four is now selling at the place at eighteen dollars per barrel, notwithstanding the good crop, because there is no conventional way of transporting it. The Mississippi is effectually blockaded. The population of the most flourishing towns is diminishing by absenteeism; as, for example, there are at this moment one thousand three hundred deserted houses in Memphis, and the last and only hope of the Confederates is that England will become their ally without delay. If this is not done, they confess themselves lost.

With regard to the number of troops in Virginia, our informant says there cannot be less than 100,000, and the largest body of them is at about Richmond. Their hope is to pursue a system of ambuscades and masked batteries, the mountains and defiles of that State being well adapted to such a plan of defence. He thinks they will fight desperately at least one great battle, counting on a success to help them abroad and at home.

Finally, our informant thinks if the North could make known to the South, in some unmistakable way, that it does not make war to abolish slavery, the war might be considered as almost over. The Secessionists feel and know they have entirely mistaken their case and their remedy, and the leaders tremble for their own personal safety.—*Eco. Post.*

## National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.  
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observation of the following directions, viz.:  
Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of this paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."  
Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

### FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

AGAIN the Anniversary draws near of one of the most beneficent and memorable events in the history of the world—ancient or modern—the Peaceful Emancipation of 800,000 slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Justice and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled the acknowledgment of the world at large, even of the unwilling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the slaves in the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August, 1834, ranks now in history as an event not less remarkable for its cheering results than for the benevolent and humane motives which inspired it.

The Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society invite the friends of freedom everywhere, all who are interested in the great events of human progress, and all who desire to see the barbarous, inhuman and unchristian slavery of our own land give place to the reign of Freedom, Justice and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meet with them, at the well known and beautiful grove in ABINGDON, on THURSDAY, August 1st., 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let us all join to make this FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it is held—the cleansing of our own land from the curse and shame of human slavery.

Elloquent speakers will be present. Railroad trains will run at reduced fares, etc. Of all which, further particulars hereafter.

W. L. GARRISON, E. H. REYNOLDS, T. H. HUNT, ELIAS RICHARDS, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, Committee of Arrangements.

### REMOVAL.

THE Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office has been removed from 107 North-Fifth Street to 106 North-Tenth Street—four doors above Arch, west side, nearly opposite the office of *The Friends' Review*.

All business pertaining to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, including the sale of anti-slavery books, the receipt of subscriptions for *THE STANDARD, LIBERATOR*, London *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, etc., etc., will be transacted as heretofore at this office.

### EFFECT AND CAUSE.

EVENTS move rapidly in this fast country. They more than march. They gallop, they fly. One has almost the sensation in watching their progress, as one does in looking on as an Express train rushes by at lightning speed. It is barely three months since Sumter fell. Who could foresee what has come to pass within ninety brief days, even when the news came of the opening of the batteries upon her walls? At the beginning of April, it seemed as if the whole land was given over hopelessly to the dominion of the Slave Power. The sympathy and loyalty of the Democracy and Bell-Everyett were no more doubted at the North than at the South by the lookers-on at the outside of things. Secret associations, called together by mystic signs, without name or place, but with a date only appended, were known to exist all over the country. For there was no secret about them, excepting as to such particulars as might make them obnoxious to indictment. Their existence was avowed, and men bragged of belonging to them. The Mayors of this city and of Boston either belonged to them or were controlled by them. All the property and respectability of the North appeared to be ranged on the same side, though a decent share of self-respect might keep them personally out of such disreputable company. Of all this the slave-driving conspirators were kept fully advised, and it was on the faith of effectual help from this quarter of the country that the Great Rebellion was begun. They verily believed that the cannon aimed at Sumter would be the signal for revolution in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, as well as in Baltimore and in Washington, which would put down the Republican party and establish the dominion of the Slaveocracy over the whole country on an everlasting footing, through a reconstruction of the government and the virtual substitution of the Constitution of Montgomery for that of Philadelphia.

We all know how differently matters have turned out from what was expected. It is no wonder that Jefferson Davis should be astonished at the magic change, for all of us were almost as much so. Some of this change was occasioned by the very contempt our Northern behavior had been in our sometime Southern masters, and the indifference to decent appearances which it bred. Had they managed their treason a little more wisely, they might have retained their hold on many minds where they have now lost it forever, and have kept up that condition of clamor and confusion of ideas which has always been their chief element of success. Had they held on to the Stars and Stripes and maintained that they were the true United States government, and that Lincoln was an interloping usurper—had they refrained from firing on Sumter and kept back from the crowning folly of their piracy, they might have maintained a hold on large masses of Northern sympathizers and puzzled and perplexed great numbers of men of floating opinions, and perhaps delayed the action of the North until they had gained possession of Washington and put themselves into a position to carry on the war, if any ensued, on Northern soil. But their course was such that scarcely *The Herald* and *Boston Courier* could make a stammering show of standing by them, even before the roar of popular indignation compelled them to change their front in the twinkling of an eye. The rebels misjudged their men, and thought to terrify or to conciliate them by the very means which consolidated the North into one united phalanx against them. Their conduct rallied against them as one man the very classes which had always been their firmest reliance. They thought that the humiliations to which the capitalists and mercantile classes had submitted for the sake of peace and a common government, had been endured for the love of these disgraces and of the men that dictated them. It was for Peace and Government that the North had submitted to the succession of compromises demanded of them by the South. As soon as it was discovered that the peace and government were impossible until the rebels had been chastised and suppressed, those very classes were ready to join in solid column for their destruction.

Thus the very instincts of that false and fish Conservatism at the North, on which the South had

relied as their sure defence, united with the more generous impulses which led nobler souls to think of their country first and themselves last to produce that magnificent Rising in the North, which has not had any precedent in the history of the world. But the causes of the state of opinion from which this state of affairs sprang are to be sought farther back and farther off than the mere assault on the flag and attack on the property of the nation by sea and shore. Such a rebellion as this never springs in a moment, fully armed, into existence, as a sin did out of the teeming brain of Satan, just as the great rebellion broke out in Heaven. Such movements grow, they are not improvised. The seeds of this Civil War were sown long before Jefferson Davis was ever heard of, or even Calhoun invented his theory of Secession. The tares which the Enemy of Mankind had sowed in our field were suffered to grow up along with the wheat, instead of being rooted out in the beginning, and, at last, it became a question which was the Lord of the Harvest, the Sower of the Tares or the Sower of the Wheat. This is now the question to be decided by the umpirage of arms. Slavery having been left alone when it was weak and might have been abolished without social disturbance, and not merely left alone but made an organic part of our institutions of government, it necessarily grew stronger and stronger until the element of our national weakness became the overmastering power in our affairs. Its very weakness was its strength, and the insolence and rapacity of slavery waxed fat upon the sops that were thrown to it to keep it quiet. At last, its confidence in its strength and our meanness rose to a point which even Northern patience would not stand, and it inaugurated a rebellion for the overthrow of the government and the substitution of slavery for liberty as the corner-stone and the cap-stone of the new edifice which was to be erected on its ruins. And this was one occasion of the present hopeful condition of our affairs.

Another occasion is to be looked for in the very opposite direction. Happily, it is the nature of things that crimes should call into existence the passions and the processes which are necessary to their pursuit and their punishment. The outrages of slavery created, of necessity, the Anti-Slavery Movement, its deadly and incessant foe. While slavery was planting itself firmly, as it seemed, in the high places, striking its roots deep and rearing its head high and its branches broad, Anti-Slavery was busy at the roots and gradually sapping their hold on the soil from which they drew all their strength and pride. The slave-drivers knew the danger of these assaults, and they bade their Northern minions suppress them, or all the blessings of slavery would be lost to them. These faithful ones have never been disobedient to the injunction, but have done all they could and dared, even down to the very instant that their hands were paralyzed. But, though mob violence, and ecclesiastical thunders, and the social ban were tried, the inevitable antagonism of light and darkness could not be destroyed, and by degrees the general mind of the North was instructed as to the true nature of slavery and its inevitable effects on their own character and prosperity, as well as on those of the slaves and the masters. These perceptions were not as clear, and the actions that followed upon them were not as resolute as they might have been. But they were sufficient to modify Northern feeling and action in Church and State, and, at last, the change was sufficient to secure the election of a Northern President, against the will of the South and of its Northern myrmidons. To be sure, this was effected by a slaveholder's intrigue, in which the occasion of the contemplated *coup d'etat* might be given. But the necessity of that movement, as alleged by its most intelligent promoters, lay in the change worked in Northern opinion as to slavery, which made the permanent supremacy of the Slave Power an impossibility. Of this mighty change they give us Abolitionists the credit, and we modestly admit that they give us no more than our due. We have worked long and patiently, in faith and without night, knowing that the reward would come at last. We were never assured in what shape it would appear—whether of foreign war, of insurrection, of civil war, or of politico-economic necessity. But we accept the boon as it is offered to us. We had rather that the slave should have come to his birthright through repentance rather than through blood. But what right has a nation, so blood-guilty as this toward the slave, to expect to escape the natural penalty of its crime? It has been maintaining a state of war between the slaves and the masters by giving their moral and physical support to the masters, from a false self-interest, and it is no more than just that it should pay in blood and treasure more than it ever gained by its crime, to be rid of it. It is the *fiat* of Eternal Justice to which it submits when it encounters the mischiefs of this war. We believe that the nation will not end it until slavery is first ended. Though it may not yet be time to proclaim Emancipation as the necessary preliminary to Peace, yet the time is at hand and cannot be long delayed. Common Sense and Self-Interest demand it, as well as Humanity and Civil Liberty. Indeed, if the war lasts two years, or even one, slavery will not be losing preserving, even to the slaveholders, and the reorganization of society on the basis of Freedom will be a necessity there. Its worth as an element of political power is gone forever certainly, and it is likely that the sceptre of the Cotton King will have been effectually wrested from him, also, by that time. It is no more improbable that we should be called upon by the necessities of warfare, or the entreaties of the South, to assist in such a reorganization, than it was three months ago that a united North should now have 300,000 men in the field to quell a slaveholding rebellion. Sooner or later this Effect must crown our work, and we will thank God for the share he has enabled us to bear in its Cause.

AN OCTOBERNARIAN of Salem, Mass., who has been a staunch conservative for half a century and a strong opponent of the Abolitionists since the day when Garrison first lifted up his voice for immediate emancipation, writes to a friend in New York as follows:  
"I do hope and pray that, before long, we shall have a good battle on the soil of old Virginia, and that we shall give them a specimen of what freemen can do, when called on to defend their institutions of free government. One can hardly realize that the people of Virginia have permitted such a folly as the transfer of the battle-field from its legitimate locality, the Cotton States—South Carolina in particular—to their own State. I am all impatience, sick and lame as I am, to hear the result of the first set battle of some twenty or thirty thousand men of a side, that will tell the story and put the blood of twenty millions of freemen into active circulation. We must go it strong, and then we shall soon see the end of this accursed rebellion. I can hardly see now how we can avoid freeing every slave in the country. It does seem as though it must come to that before we can settle down quietly, and let white man and negro hoe his own corn and pick his own cotton. I tell you, the conduct of those slaveholders, in bringing about this disastrous state of things is enough to make all free men Abolitionists; it has me, sure."  
This is by no means a singular example of the change lately wrought in the minds of people at the North in regard to slavery and slaveholders. Thousands, in spite of long-cherished prejudices, have been led, in the progress of the Southern rebellion, to see that the Abolitionists are right in their denunciations of slavery, and in their estimate of its demoralizing influence upon individuals and communities. They see in the theft, robbery, repudiation, and lynch law that have marked every step in the history of Southern treason, only the natural flowering-out of the deadly yew tree, which, instead of uprooting, our fathers unfortunately protected in the Constitution, flatter themselves meanwhile with the hope that, in spite of such temporary support, it would die of itself. Let us hope that the lesson thus conveyed has been so deeply impressed upon the minds of the Northern people that it will not have to be repeated in new and still more terrible judgments upon them, and that they will not be so infatuated as to think that they can crush the treason without removing its cause.

### THE PARADOX OF ANTI-SLAVERY POLICY.

AMONG the inhabitants of this world, there is a class called "men of principle," who wish "the right" to prevail, and who are working with heart and hand towards the success of justice and rectitude. Antagonistic to this is another class called "men of expediency," who are working with equal zeal towards the accomplishment of prosperity for themselves, and who adapt their movements to the attainment of prosperity, entirely disregarding principle. There is no doubt of the existence of these two classes. There is little doubt as to which of them deserves our esteem, and which our contempt.

The latter of these classes is said to "swim with the tide." Its votary lets the tide decide for him whether he shall go North or South. The Vicar of Bray changed his politics and religion as often as such change would help him to retain his comfortable and lucrative position, and his name has become a synonym for contemptible subservience and want of principle.

Does it follow from these things that the man of principle is *never* to go with the tide? that he is to pursue his pre-determined course, entirely regardless of circumstances? Not at all! He is to use the tide when it may be made to serve his purpose of reform, not less assiduously than his neighbor uses it to serve his purpose of self-interest. Since there is a tide in the affairs of men—since God's providence does most unexpectedly vary the circumstances by which we are surrounded—the part of the true man is to use each favoring tide, and each favorable concurrence of circumstances, to aid the accomplishment of God's work. Why else is it enjoined upon us to *watch*, as well as to pray and to labor? The work of reform is not a mere parrot repetition of the claim that reform must be made; it involves the far harder task of deciding how far providential circumstances will aid him in securing an advanced position; and whether a temporary modification of the presentation of his claim may not really aid the accomplishment of the thing claimed.

Just now, some excellent anti-slavery friends are puzzled and disturbed at a change of expression among those who most prominently represent the cause in speech, writing and action. They seem to think that the variation in language and emphasis which an altered state of the North, and of the government, has called forth, implies a change of principle. They seem unable to comprehend why the Anti-Slavery Societies, which formerly held their routine of Annual Meetings entirely irrespective of the threat, or the probability of mob violence, should now take such probabilities into account, and decide in particular cases to relinquish a customary gathering as inexpedient; why these Societies which (without holding Non-Resistant ideas) had always emphasized their wish for the peaceful abolition of slavery, should now speak with satisfaction of a warlike contest between Northern non-slaveholders and Southern slaveholders; why even the Non-Resistant, Mr. Garrison, should just now lay less about the importance of peace and more about the importance of liberty; and why Wendell Phillips, who once stigmatized Abraham Lincoln as "the slave-hound of Illinois," should now give active countenance and support to the position taken by him in reference to the great rebellion. Have the Societies become afraid of mobs? Are the leaders lowering the standard? Has Garrison deserted his peace principles? Has Phillips sunk from Abolitionist to mere Republican?—ask these misjudging friends.

It is certainly possible to look at these persons and things in this way. But there is a juster and better way of looking at them. And it is for the advantage of each observer to get the right point of view. Let us touch briefly upon each of the instances just alluded to.

Why did the Abolitionists, last May, refrain from holding the customary Annual Meetings in New York and Boston?

Because any mob-violence which might (and probably would) have been exercised against them at that time, instead of helping their cause, as formerly, would have hindered and damaged it. Does any one ask—whence this difference? We answer. It arises from a new state of things among the Northern people, not less strange and paradoxical than that course of the Abolitionists which we are explaining. The great Southern rebellion was commenced and carried on by the Slave Power, for the sake of slavery. The North stood as one man in hearty opposition to the rebellion, though a majority of the Northern people were shamefully tolerant of the slavery that gave birth to it. Nevertheless, by the very act of opposing the rebellion, they were weakening the Slave Power, and thus practically opposing slavery. By this strange concurrence of events it came to pass that the very men at the North who were most bitterly opposed to us were at that moment unconsciously doing our work, and weakening slavery, though without the least ill-will to slavery.

Another great wonder appeared, most unexpected, and most propitious to the opponents of slavery. Southern rebels, who, in planning their rebellion, had relied with absolute confidence upon the continued support of those Northern friends who had so long and so faithfully aided them in upholding slavery, were now not only surprised and confounded by losing the support of those friends, but, as if providentially smitten with judicial madness, read this unanimous opposition to rebellion as a unanimous opposition to slavery, and denounced the whole mass of their Northern opponents as *Yankee Abolitionists*!

Of course, nothing could be more absurd than this lumping together of their friends with their foes. Never was a grosser instance of *non sequitur* than this jumbling of the leaders of the Democratic and Bell-Everett parties, of the pro-slavery clergy, editors and literati, of the cotton-merchants, cotton-manufacturers and cotton-traders, and of the clerks and laborers of the class last named (who have been the chief executors of mob-violence against Abolitionists) as themselves belonging to the anti-slavery party. It was an enormous, a superlative, a transcendent blunder; yet a blunder most opportune for our purposes. The enemy's hosts were fighting each other in the dark. The kingdom of Satan was divided against itself.

These things being so, would it not have been a blunder of equal magnitude on our part, if we had furnished the opportunity (so much desired by pro-slavery men at the North) for them to dispel this illusion of their Southern friends, and to prove themselves still true allies of slavery?

The very men (some well-dressed and some in rags) who had been accustomed to mob anti-slavery meetings, and who were still well-disposed to do so, were, at that moment shouting for the government and against the rebels; volunteering to fight for the Administration, energetically determined to oppose secession; calling upon the army to march through Baltimore or over it; and fraternizing with the Republicans as if they had never called them *Black Republicans*!

Could there be among possibilities a state of things more disheartening to the rebels? Did it not affect more disastrously as their rebellion? And, if they made the stupid blunder of reckoning all Northern opposition to their rebellion as opposition to their slavery, was it for us to undecieve them? Must we not, of necessity, rejoice in an error which divided the Slave Power against itself?

Another thing. Of course, these Northern hunkers, sham-Democrats and other, keenly felt the absurdity of their own position, in being forced into fraternization with their political opponents, and, at the same time, cried out against, as traitors, by those slaveholders whom they had always befriended, and whom they still wished to befriend. It was pathetically ludicrous to see those poor fellows trying to convince their Southern friends of the simple truth, that they were opposing only rebellion, not at all slavery! Talk like that, addressed to men who had made the rebellion for the sake of slavery, had of course the effect of insult added to injury! And all the more did the Southern rascals at their former friends as (adjective) Yankee Abolitionists, and (adjective) Black Republicans.

Under these circumstances, nothing could have been more welcome to *The Journal of Commerce* in this city, and to *The Courier* in Boston, than the opportunity of inciting mobs against the Abolitionists, and thus offering practical demonstration of their continued faithfulness to the Slave Power! The appropriate more for those Abolitionists to make, at once to circumvent and to concert their own position, was as plain as ever was move on chess-board or battle-field. A masterly inactivity was their game. They quietly decided not to hold their meetings. And the mob, who ardently longed to be howling against them, were compelled, by the

circumstances, to keep on howling against the rebels at the South.

If the May meetings of the Anti-Slavery Societies had been held, they would have been bitterly assailed by portions of the periodical press, and might also have been assailed with force and arms by the rabble at their place of meeting; and every one of these assailants, whether operating with the voice, the pen or the fist, would have helped to destroy that glorious unanimity which the North now shows against the rebels; would have helped to diminish the force of that shout which now calls for the putting down of the rebellion. In our judgment, no action ever did more timely and substantial service to the cause than this inaction.

Take next the case of the American Anti-Slavery Society, declaring, in its Constitution, its preference for a peaceful abolition of slavery—and the case of William Lloyd Garrison, the Non-Resistant, who has so often recommended the abolition of all war as well as of all slavery—are we to conclude that they have apostatized from those ideas because they do not now speak of peace, and because, on the other hand, they speak much, and strongly, of the methods of gaining advantage for universal freedom, and weapons against American slavery, out of the present and future contingencies of the existing war? a war commenced, and established, be it observed, without the consent or the action of either of these parties? Such a conclusion would be the height of absurdity.

Mr. Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Society are accustomed to act and speak *reasonably*; to demand only what it is just and fair to demand, under existing circumstances; and to consult possibilities and probabilities in their action in behalf of their client, the slave. Commencing their plea for him thirty years ago, when the country was at peace, and when only the voluntary gift of immediate and unconditional emancipation was necessary to raise the nation to the summit of virtuous prosperity, they urged that policy as the interest and duty of the nation. Their counsel was rejected then, and it has been rejected ever since. But these faithful advocates have continued their plea, varied in such manner as experience and Providence taught them to vary it, to the present time. They have used all the arguments in their power, alike to slaveholders and to Republicans, with very little direct success. Now the slaveholders have forced the Republicans into a war, and the whole country has become a camp. Because these preachers of righteousness have failed in securing peaceful emancipation, shall they therefore relinquish emancipation itself? Having failed in regard to peace, shall they abandon their advocacy of freedom? The idea is preposterous. As honest men, not less than as anti-slavery men, they *must* try, now that peace exists no longer, whether the events of the war can be turned in favor of freedom; whether the Northern people, who rejected anti-slavery testimony as to the injustice, dishonesty, baseness and cruelty of slaveholders, will not be convinced of these things by the immense body of concurrent testimony which the South itself is now bringing into court; and whether these facts will not induce them to abate that unspeakable nuisance to which the South clings as its "peculiar institution"; whether the Commander-in-Chief, or some of his Generals, will not use their war-power for the abolition of slavery; whether, in failure of this, Congress cannot be induced to act in that direction; and whether, finally, the people themselves in each State called free, cannot be induced to meet in Convention and demand the separation of the United States, and of their government, from all support of slavery and all complicity with it!

We repeat it. Failure in effecting the abolition of war does not at all require a remission of effort for the abolition of slavery.

Lastly—the stigmatizing of Abraham Lincoln as the "slave-hound of Illinois," at a time when he was really acting in that capacity, should by no means prevent the same speaker from praising that individual for any good deed which he chances to have done; nay, it should by no means prevent the cooperation of the Abolitionist critic with the person censured, whenever the *acts* of that powerful person (with or without the concurrence of his will) tend in the *direction* of anti-slavery. Our part is to act, as far as rectitude will allow, to secure the rights of our client, the slave. So far as Lincoln's acts help towards the slave's freedom, let us help Lincoln; and let history take its time to judge between us.

### THE SLAVEHOLDER'S SCRIPTURE COMMENTARY.—III.

SERVANTS, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ.—Eph. vi. 5. Those commentators, both North and South, who insist that slavery is a Divine institution, are equally positive that the Greek terms, *domos* and *domoi*, mean *slave* and *slaves*. The passage should therefore read: "Slaves, be obedient to them who are your masters." As our "Code," however, does not allow *slaves* to be *persons*, but holds them, "to all intents and purposes, as coons and chattels," it is still more consistent to render it thus: "Goods and chattels, be obedient to them that are your owners."

But that the true, classic rendering of *domos*, in the New Testament, should be *slave*, is beautifully and forcibly illustrated and proved by other passages, in which the term is used in both the singular and plural—"Slaves, be obedient to them who are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eyeservice as men please; but as the slaves of Christ."

The disciple is not above his master, nor the slave above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the slave as his lord.—Matt. x. 24, 25. Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king who would take account of his slaves. And when he had begun to reckon, one [chattel] was brought unto him, which owed him ten thousand talents. But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made. The slave, therefore, fell down and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. Then the lord of that slave was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But the same slave [chattel] went out and found one of his fellow-slaves [chattels], which owed him a hundred pence; and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest. And his fellow-slave fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And he would not; but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. So when his fellow-slaves [goods and chattels] saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told their lord [owner], what was done. Then his lord, after that he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked slave [chattel]! I forgave thee all that debt, because thou didst me: Shouldst thou not have had compassion on thy fellow-slave [chattel], even as I had pity on thee?—Matt. xviii. 23-35.

Notes.—We are not so well acquainted as we ought to be with eastern and ancient usages. To us it seems strange, that a *chattel* could so run in debt as to owe its owner ten thousand talents! It is also about as difficult for us to apprehend how one *chattel* can own another, even a hundred pence, when no *chattel* can own itself. It is evident, however, that under the *old* system of chattel slavery, property was recognized as belonging to property. The lord of the wicked, merciless chattel commanded "all that he had" "to be sold."

There is one feature in the ancient slave system which we ought, perhaps, to admire. It was not quite so rigorous as ours. The lord of the insolvent chattel would not, even at the auction-block, separate parcels of goods belonging to the same lot, as husband and wife, parents and children; but he sold them all in a group. It seems also, that, under the old system, not only could one chattel owe another, but the creditor could cast the insolvent chattel into prison. Upon that allowance, our own righteous and admirable Slave Code is an improvement. If one chattel were allowed to imprison another, the loss must fall upon the owner of the goods. Who, then, is that faithful and wise slave, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that slave, whom his lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. Verily, I say unto you, that he shall make him ruler over all his goods.—Matt. xxiv. 45-47.

Notes.—It must be inferred that, under the old system, there was here and there a slave capable of taking care of himself; otherwise, it would have been absurd for his lord to make him ruler over his household. It would not do to invest any of our "chattels" with such authority. But, and if that evil slave shall say in his heart, My

lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to smite his fellow-slaves, and to eat and drink with the drunken, the lord of that slave shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites.—Matt. xxiv. 48-51.

Notes.—*Lithum Lents* cut up his slave George, and cast the pieces into the fire. A pertinent illustration of the expression in the text: "cut him asunder!"

### ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN CHESTER COUNTY, PA.

We are requested to state, in advance of the official notice, that the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society will hold a meeting in

WILLIAM JACKSON'S WOODS, near Avondale, Chester Co., Pa., on SATURDAY, Aug. 10th. The hour has not been named to us, but we presume it will be 10 o'clock a.m.

Theodore Tilton, J. M. McKim, Reuben Tomlinson, Oliver Johnson and others may be expected to address the meeting. The official notice may supply further particulars.

### GERRIT SMITH TO OWEN LOVEJOY.

PETERBORO, July 12, 1861.  
HON. OWEN LOVEJOY, M.C.—My Dear Sir: From its action on your resolutions I infer that Congress is not disposed to repeal the Fugitive Slave statute.

I judged, after the bombardment of Sumter, that the North would put down the rebellion in a few months. But if the patience of the Cabinet with the pro-slavery threats and deeds of some of our Commanders, and the pro-slavery Congressional voting referred to are to be taken as reflecting the Northern mind, then did I widely misjudge. For then the North is not in earnest; and if she is not or is not soon to be, then the rebellion will never be overcome. Our Revolutionary Fathers were in earnest—so much so as to employ not only negroes but savages. Our enemies are in earnest. Whilst we will not so much as let the negroes help us, they make them help them. Nay, it seems that when such helpers of our foes desert to us, Congress would still have us return them to our foes. Was ever such infatuation before? Is it possible that either Congress or Cabinet is more concerned to save slavery than to crush the rebellion? Possibly both are. Possibly the people are. Possibly slavery has debauched Congress, Cabinet and people beyond recovery. Possibly, having so long succumbed to it, as to arouse the mass of the drunkards against drunkenness, or the mass of the gamblers against gambling. When I saw the refined ladies of the South presenting canes to Preston Brooks in honor of his murderous assault on Charles Sumner, I feared that slavery had utterly and incurably spoiled the American heart. This fear was renewed when I saw the voting on your resolutions. I see that Congress has since spoken against the army's helping slavery. But it would still have the civil power help it—aye, and the army too behind the civil power.

Our government is now calling for hundreds of millions more of money and for hundreds of thousands more of soldiers. This is right, if necessary to put down the rebellion. Let that be put down unconditionally and forever, even though at the necessity of arming us all and reducing us all to poverty. But why take a costly and weary way to put it down when a cheap and short one is at hand? Why choose crushing burdens of debt and immense human slaughter when both can be avoided? The liberation of the slaves has obviously become one of the necessities and therefore one of the rights of the country. Let the President, in his capacity of Commander of the army, proclaim such liberation, and the war would end in thirty days. The South, beside that she would, when her millions of chattels are transmuted into men, have quite too much to fight against, would, when her slavery is annihilated, have nothing left to fight for. Our army, in the event of the President's Proclamation, would be already large enough. There would then be no squeamishness about letting ten or fifteen black regiments move Southward from Canada and the Northern States; and with that most attractive and efficient help many of our white regiments might be left to "stand still and see the salvation of the Lord."

That the President is authorized to liberate the slaves is as clear as that he may, when judging there is military necessity for it, order the destruction of all the railroads in the slave States. But it will be said that, on the return of peace, the government would provide payment for the railroads. So could it for the slaves also. Perhaps when the war is over the government will think it best to recall slavery and reestablish it more firmly than ever. If in time of peace slavery is bearable—may even suitable—nevertheless it does not follow that it must be maintained in a state of war. A people may find their railroads an inestimable facility in peace, but a fatal one in war. It will also be said that the President cannot be induced to proclaim liberty to the slaves. Why not? His writings abundantly show that he hates slavery, and that he has tolerated it only through a construed necessity. Let Congress invite the Proclamation by repealing the Fugitive Slave act; and as sure as the war continues, the Proclamation will not be long delayed. Only let Congress encourage the step, and the President will at once end the war, and save the nation from impoverishment and tens of thousands of families from bereavement and broken hearts. Will Congress prefer poverty and blood? Fearful will be its responsibility for the guilty preference. Is it apprehended that liberating the slaves would lead to insurrections? That alone can prevent them. The war prolonged, and the South will herself call on our government to protect her from her slaves.

Hitherto the North has excused itself to itself and to Europe for not abolishing slavery. Its plea has been that it had not the right to do so. But what can its plea now?—now when the South has given it the right, and when, by all the rules of war, it is at full liberty to exercise the right? In making war upon us the South has authorized us to cripple her in all the ways we can. It may be that we can (though I do not believe that God will let us) put down the rebellion and yet save slavery. But what if we can? Is slavery so precious to the North, that she can afford to save it at the cost of half her wealth and tens of thousands of her men? One would think, that she had rather put down slavery along with the rebellion, and so blot out forever the sole cause of the rebellion.

This shrinking of Congress from repealing the Fugitive Slave act will, I doubt not, go far to prepare Europe to expect the success of the rebellion, and to prepare her to recognise the new nation. She will measure our earnestness against the rebellion by our eagerness against slavery. She sees, if we do not, that the war of the South is simply a war for slavery. A strange spectacle our nation must be in the eyes of Europe! What is there that such a nation as France or England would not do to save itself in an appalling rebellion? But such is the amazing conduct of our nation, as to occasion the inquiry—what is there that it will do? What must Europe think of this American chivalry, which regards it as *dishonorable* to avail itself of an element of weakness in a merciless and dangerous foe? What must Europe think of this greater tenderness for the persons and property, aye, even the *conventional* property, of foes than for the persons and property of friends? I once heard an office-seeker, who was intent on making himself acceptable to all parties, speak of "our friends and our opposing friends." The gentle bearing of our government reminds me of the mincing style of the office-seeker. Our government seems to recognise our foes as but "opposing friends."

Can it be that Congress is still trammeled by the absurd regard for the loyal slave States? No State is loyal that would have the negroes work for instead of against the rebellion. No man is loyal who would have it. No man is a true American, who, when America is warred on, will not endeavor to her side the services of every American. I am glad that Congress has resolved to meddle with nothing at this session beyond the war question. But utterly absurd is the inference of many that it must not therefore meddle with the slave question. The slave question is the war question. The war began in slavery, and it will end but with slavery.

Unceasingly, both penwise and lipwise, I am asked what the Abolitionists should do. I answer that the one present work of both Abolitionists and anti-Abolitionists is to put down the rebellion; and that, as the most reasonable, hopeful and demanded means to this end, both Abolitionists and anti-Abolitionists should petition the President to proclaim the liberty of the slaves.

Your friend, GERRIT SMITH

### SPEECH OF GILES B. STEBBINS, AT ROCHESTER, JULY 4, 1861.

To the Editor of *The National Anti-Slavery Standard*.  
ENCLOSED is the speech of GILES B. STEBBINS, which, with the address of Parker Pillsbury and the resolutions sent you by a previous mail, gives the word spoken for the slave at our Rochester Fourth of July Celebration.

The occasion was one of great interest. Abolitionists of the surrounding Counties were largely represented. Many remarked that they never saw an out-of-door assemblage so quiet, attentive and earnest. The faces of the people told that they came not for mere social enjoyment, but to get new hope and deeper inspiration in the work of freedom.

Mr. STEBBINS read the poem of Whittier, "Our fellow countrymen in chains," etc., and said: It may be asked why we are here instead of joining in the celebration with the multitude at the Court-House. Is it because we favor rebellion? No. Is it because we sympathize with secession? No. To rebel or secede for freedom were a different matter, but to rebel for slavery is wicked. Have we less desire for law and order than they? No. But we see that it is only by renegeing the "higher law" of liberty, written on the soul by a Divine hand, that law and order can rule.

We think if the Declaration of Independence meant anything, it means that men and women shall be safe in work and worship, in marriage and home; and this can only be when each guards all, and all each, equally and impartially, in their rights. It means this, in spirit, or nothing. We have had, as a people, only the dead "letter which killeth," not "the spirit which giveth life." But the spirit is not wholly dead, it lives, it grows, and slavery would crush it.

To-day, more than for many years, this celebration of the nation's birthday has life and soul, for we are in the midst of civil war. The "irrepressible conflict" has assumed a new phase, but one which surprises no thoughtful observer.

The people have desired peace, but seem blind to the fact that there can be no peace without purity. A few days since I saw the question asked in a religious newspaper, "Who would have dreamed of this, who wise enough to foretell this war six months ago?" The pious editor had been holding church-fellowship with slave







